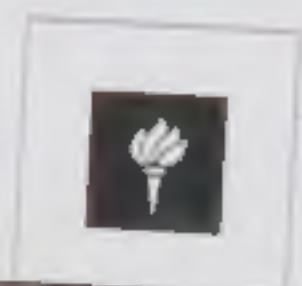
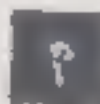


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Candidates Defeated
in Roman Elections:
Some Ancient Roman
"Also-Rans"

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Library of Congress Catalog
Card Number 95-56339
International Standard Book Number 0-8219-614-5
U.S. ISSN 0065-9740

015427795

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| ANRW | <i>Antiquity and Niditigat der römischen Welt</i> |
| Briseow, <i>Comm.</i> 1 | J. Briseow, <i>A Commentary on Livy, Books xxxi-xxxiii</i> |
| Briseow, <i>Comm.</i> 2 | J. Briseow, <i>A Commentary on Livy, Books xxxiv-xxxviii</i> |
| Denniston, <i>Commentary</i> | J. D. Denniston, <i>M. Tullii Cicero's in M. Antonium orationes Philippicae, Propt et Scandala, with Introduction, Notes and Appendices</i> |
| STR | F. K. S. Houghton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> |
| Marshall, <i>Asconius</i> | B. A. Marshall, <i>A Historical Commentary on Asconius</i> |
| Mommsen, <i>StR</i> | H. Mommsen, <i>Römisches Staatsrecht</i> |
| Münzer, <i>APF</i> | Fr. Münzer, <i>Römische Adelsfamilien und Adelsverhältnisse</i> |
| RI | <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> |
| Rilinger, <i>Einfluss</i> | R. Rilinger, <i>Der Einfluss der Wahlrechts bei den römischen Konsulwahlen von 107 bis 52 v. Chr.</i> |
| SB, <i>CLA</i> | D. R. Shackleton Bailey, <i>Cicero's Letters to Atticus</i> |
| SB, <i>CTF</i> | D. R. Shackleton Bailey, <i>Cicero's Epistulae ad Familiares</i> |
| SB, <i>CTQT</i> | D. R. Shackleton Bailey, <i>Cicero's Epistulae ad Quintum Catonem et ad M. Brutum</i> |
| SB, <i>Two Studies</i> | D. R. Shackleton Bailey, <i>Two Studies in Cicero's Nomenclature</i> |
| SB, <i>Onomasticon</i> | D. R. Shackleton Bailey, <i>Onomasticon for Cicero's Correspondence</i> |
| Sumner, <i>Chartres</i> | C. A. Sumner, <i>Chartres, France, 1871-1872: A Study in the Geography and Chronology of the Roman Empire</i> |
| Suetonius, <i>RI</i> | Suetonius, <i>The Roman Emperors: A Study in the History of the Empire</i> |
| T. R. Taylor, <i>RVV</i> | T. R. Taylor, <i>Roman Voting Assemblies from the Republic to the Dictatorship of Caesar</i> |
| Wiseman, <i>New Men</i> | T. P. Wiseman, <i>New Men in the Roman Senate: B.C. 100 and A.D. 70</i> |



I. INTRODUCTION*

It is the purpose of this work to collect and present in context the names of members of a somewhat neglected group, the candidates in Roman elections for magistracies and priest-hoods in the Middle and Late Republic who competed unsuccessfully. In the listing of these candidates for the major magistracies, the consulship, the praetorship, and the aedileships, I have arranged those for each magistracy in two groups. The first consists of the candidates who competed throughout until the votes were counted and the victors announced, candidates who had suffered defeat *ex parte* in the full sense of the word. The second group, less certain and more vaguely definable, consists of those who began to compete and either withdrew or were prevented from proceeding further. Some, who merely began to canvass for support, or whose application for candidacy (*notio*) was not accepted by the presiding magistrate, were technically not candidates at all, but they should still be considered in relation to the competition. Although examples may be cited from other periods, the period that is chiefly considered runs from 218 B.C. — the beginning of the Second Punic War, to 44 B.C., the assassination of Julius Caesar, the period for which the sources, among which Livy and Cicero are the most important, provide more details about candidates for elective office.

Like ourselves, the Romans of the Republic were much more interested in recording the achievements and preserving the memory of the victorious candidates. Relatively few of the names of defeated candidates have been preserved, even in years when there appears to have been no lack of competition. Some have won a place in the record through involvement in interesting incidents and others because they appear in personal anecdotes. A high percentage of the defeated candidates for the consulship are recorded because they competed in a time of crisis, as in 216, or in an election of special interest, as in 189, and

* Thanks are due to friends and colleagues for their interest and help, and particularly to Professor Jerzy Linderski, who read the manuscript, saved it from oblivion, and called my attention to the regular membership of many defeated candidates in the Roman Senate. What faults and errors remain are attributable to me alone.

2 CANDIDATES DEFEATED IN ROMAN ELECTIONS

many more of them (over half) because they persisted until they were successful, and often they had distinguished later careers.

The known names are listed alphabetically, with citation of sources, under each of the magistracies in order: first the consulship, then the censorship, then in succession, the praetorship, the aedileships, the tribunate of the plebs, the quaestorship, and the one lone example of defeat for the military tribunate; and, finally, the defeated candidates for the major priestly colleges, with inclusion of the pontifex maximus, elections for all of which were held under special conditions. For the first three, the consuls, censors, and praetors, the elections were held in the *Comitia Centuriata*, with a consul or an interrex as presiding magistrate; for the curule aediles, the quaestors, and other minor magistracies, they were held in the *Comitia Tributa*, with a consul or a praetor in charge, but the tribunes and the aediles of the plebs were elected in the *Comitia Plebis* with a tribune as presiding officer. In the times when the laws required elections to membership in the priestly colleges, they were held in a special tribal assembly of 17 tribes, chosen by lot from the total number of thirty-five, with a consul in charge.¹ Only the elections for the consulship provide a considerable number of examples of defeated candidates, and these constitute a very small proportion of the probable number who were defeated in the elections throughout the years.

Lack of evidence makes it hazardous to attempt even an approximate estimate of the number of the defeated consular candidates between 518 and 44 B.C. The total number of candidates in any one year is known only for four elections, those for 216, 192, 184, and 63. In 216, according to Livy (22.34-35), there were six, three patricians for the one available patrician place, and three plebeians, the addition of L. Aemilius Paulus brings the total to seven. For 192, there were seven (ix.35.10-2.31, three patricians and four plebeians. For 184, Livy (39.13.2) lists four patricians and three plebeians, seven in all, six of whom had been defeated before. For 63, the year of Cicerio's consulship, Asconius (82C) lists seven candidates, two patricians and five plebeians. For 192 and 184, Livy (35.24.4, 37.47.7) names the three patricians in each year who were rivals for the single available place, and the one plebeian who was successful, M. Atilius Calpurnius for 191, and M. Fulvius Nobilior for 189. As

¹ Mommsen, loc. cit. 2, 37-38, 47-48, 490; also 2.31, 55-56, 11, 12, 26; Scantius (1819), and 82-83, in Mommsen (216), on the time of election to priestly colleges; see also G. P. O. P. 1.3.3, and Shafstall on 82 loc. cit. 2, 31, 253-254, 1. Understan (1849), 26 (1902), 365-366, esp. 365-366, on the election of the pontifex maximus; see L. R. Taylor, 1176-57 (1942), 421-424.

Briscoe² points out in the case of Cilabris, it is quite unlikely that either of them was elected unopposed. This information is clearly an insufficient base for a numerical estimate, but it may be worth noting that if there were an average of three defeated candidates for the consulship, a number less than the four or five in the examples cited above, in each year from 218 to 44, the total would be 522, more than 12 times the total of known defeated candidates listed below.

If such a situation is even approximately correct, one can assume, especially with the development of the *luges Annales* and a regular *Circus Maximus*, that with very rare exceptions (such as Pompey), candidates for the major magistracies were already senators. The facts that there were only two consulships each year, with only occasional opportunity for a suffect, and that praetorships were not numerous (two from 242 to 227, four to 197, and in effect six until Sulla raised the number to eight), when considered with the probable number of candidates in each election, suggest that at almost all times the Senate included a considerable number of defeated candidates. It is probable that in a body, once of three hundred and later of six hundred members, many in the lower positions would have neither the means nor the desire to compete for the higher magistracies, but among those who competed only a few could be elected, and many even among those who could count on status, means, and support were likely still to fail in the contest for the praetorship and the consulship. One cannot do more than speculate on the effect of this, but given that election depended largely on personal connections, status, and support, and less on programs for legislation or reform, the general trend, in spite of personal rivalries, resentments, and enmities, would probably tend to be conservative and assimilative. Attacks on senatorial authority were disruptive.

In the record of many of the candidates for the consulship listed below defeat was only a temporary setback. Many persisted and attained the consulship in a later year, and some, as for example, M. Aemilius Lepidus (No. 2, below) or L. Aemilius Paulus (No. 4, below), achieved careers of great distinction. Of the 41 candidates listed in Chapter II, Part 1, below, 24 won the consulship by repeated attempts. Two of them, P. Rutilius Rutilus (No. 32) and Ser. Sulpicius Rutilus (No. 37) attained it only after ten years for the former and eleven for the latter, though with little apparent effort on their part. On the whole, there is a high proportion of later victors.

² J. Briscoe, *C. 100, 2, on the Roman Consulship*, p. 180, on lines 244-5.

II. CANDIDATES FOR THE CONSULSHIP

Candidates Defeated in Elections

1. *Adv. Architectural Chemistry* (1995) 17: 349.

A candidate for the consulship of 192, Glabrio competed with three patricians, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (350, see below, No. 14), Cn. Manlius Vulso (91, see below, No. 25), and L. Quinctius Flaminius (43), and three plebeians, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (18), C. Laelius (2, see below, No. 18), and C. Livius Salinator (29, see below, No. 21). C. Laelius, Flaminius and Cn. Domitius were elected. The next year Glabrio, most probably with the support of the Scipios, was elected to the consulship of 191 (MRR 1.352).

2. *At. Accumulation Experiments* (1983-1984)

Lepidus was a candidate for the consulship of 189, who was criticized at that time for leaving his province, Sicily, without first securing permission from the Senate, in order to compete (Liv. 37.47-6). His competitors for the one possible patrician place were Cn. Manlius Vulso (91, see below, No. 25) and M. Valerius Messalla (252, see below, No. 41), and the plebeian M. Fulvius Nobilior (91). Fulvius was elected alone, as none of the others had received a majority of the votes of the centuries. According to Livy's account, Fulvius took office at once, and on the next day presided over the election of his colleague. Casting Lepidus down, he announced the election of Manlius.¹ Messalla had received little or no support (ibid.).

The 1940s American 24 1/2" x 31" size can be made in 1/2" or 1" size and can be 2" or 3" deep. The 1940s and 1950s 24 1/2" x 31" size can be made in 1/2" or 1" size and can be 2" or 3" deep. The 1940s and 1950s 24 1/2" x 31" size can be made in 1/2" or 1" size and can be 2" or 3" deep.

But, if it is true that the Roman calendar was not a simple non-leap year, as expected by the Mithraic calendar, then the Mithraic calendar is similar to the Roman calendar, but a proleptic one that allowed 8 days to take effect in the first 4 months of the year, thus the election of his colleagues suggests strongly that there was an own Mithraic year 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 before the year 426. It is also suggested that 2 p. July that the election took place on 25.12. Mithraic year then the first day of the consular year, and that, before 426, there was held the election of his colleagues the next day takes into account that in the Roman calendar there were no consular days from March 23 to 37, i.e. A. K. Mithraic year 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 80

6 CANDIDATES DEFEATED IN ROMAN ELECTIONS

Near the end of the consular year 189, Lepidus, this time a candidate for the consulship of 188, was again defeated in an election over which his enemy, Fulvius, presided as consul, and cast him down again.¹ Livy reports no names of other candidates besides those of the victors, M. Valerius Messalla (252) and C. Lucius Sabinator (29), who had both been defeated the previous year. Lepidus was finally elected to the consulship of 187 (MRR 1.367), and later became famous for his brilliant career as consul for a second time, censor, pontifex maximus, and princeps senatus (see MRR, Index, 2.520).

3 *Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Lucianus* (60) Pr. by 81

According to Cicero,² the stinginess of Mamercus in bypassing, although he was wealthy, the aedileship with its expensive burden of public games and entertainments, led to his defeat when he competed for the consulship. His previous associations with Sulla led Radian and Sumner to identify him as the candidate for the consulship of 78 whom Sulla favored over the M. Aemilius Lepidus (72) who was elected with Pompey's support (MRR 2.116). A fragment from Sallust's *Historiae* suggests that the Mamercus in whose favor the old C. Scribonius Curio (11) was asked to withdraw from the competition for the consulship of 77 had previously submitted himself to the votes of the people. With this aid, Mamercus was elected for 77. On Curio, see below, Chapter II, Part 2, No. 23.

4 *M. Aemilius Paullus* (114) Pr. 191

Aemilius Paullus, when a candidate for the consulship of 181, was one of a group of three patricians whom Livy de-

grees that Livy was perhaps mistaken in not including the words *exheredatus* in the name of the preceding candidate, but now Lepidus, according to Livy 43.46.14, the M. Valerius Messalla (252).

¹ Livy 43.46.14: *... M. Valerius Messalla, C. Lucius Sabinator, et M. Aemilius Lepidus, qui consulatum petebant, et Fulvius, consul, inter eos praesens erat. ...* On the vote the praetor, a patrician, would influence the result of the elections, see L. R. Taylor, *op. cit.* 184-185; R. Long, *op. cit.* 121-122, 146-147. The accounts of Lepidus' defeat, as well as the several other elections, are given in the consulship of 189, in his third consulate (Liv. 38.42.15), and his last, ending, perhaps in connection with Fulvius, when they were elected as a long wait to the consulship (Liv. 40.45.7-46.16; MRR 1.367).

² *De Officiis*, 2.94: *... Mamercus, qui consulatum petebat, sed aedilem se fecerat, et ita consulatum perdidit.*

³ *De Officiis*, 2.94: *... Mamercus, qui consulatum petebat, sed aedilem se fecerat, et ita consulatum perdidit.* Livy 43.46.14: *... M. Valerius Messalla, C. Lucius Sabinator, et M. Aemilius Lepidus, qui consulatum petebant, et Fulvius, consul, inter eos praesens erat.*

⁴ Livy 43.46.14: *... M. Valerius Messalla, C. Lucius Sabinator, et M. Aemilius Lepidus, qui consulatum petebant, et Fulvius, consul, inter eos praesens erat.*

scribes as *retires condulatus*. He must therefore have competed in some previous year, or even, as Valerius Maximus vaguely suggests (7.5.3: *aliquotiens tristem consolationem petuit*), had done so more than once. This candidacy must be dated after his return early in 187 from Asia Minor, where he was one of a senatorial committee of ten legates who assisted Marcius Vulso in the settlement after the defeat of Antiochus the Great (MRR 263, 367).

For the consulship of 184, Paullus competed for the one available patrician place with Q. Fabius Labeo (91, see below, No. 16) and Ser. Sulpicius Galba (57, see below, No. 35), both of whom were, like himself, *ceteris candidatis*, and P. Claudius Pulcher (305), whose brother, the consul then in office, campaigned actively on his behalf and secured his election. The three plebeian candidates (*gentilis homines*)⁸ were Q. Terentius Colles (43, see below, No. 37), Cn. Baebius Lamphilus (44, see below, No. 7), and L. Porcius Catus (25), who was elected along with P. Claudius (MRR I 372).

5. *M. Agardhes* SCIENTES (1-10) Pr by 119

Scaburus, when a candidate for the consulship of 110, was defeated, surprisingly, as Gruen remarks,¹ by Q. Fabius Maximus Pictor (211). He was elected the next year to the consulship of 115. He was censor in 109, and princeps senatus from 115 until his death in 89 or 88 (MRR 1.532, 2.44).

cf. id., *Appendices Cephala* (192) fig. 74)

Cotta, and L. Manlius Torquatus (79), when they were candidates in 86 for the consulships of 85, were defeated in the regular election by P. Cornelius Sulla (88) and P. Autronius Paetus (7). The victors were in turn accused of *ambitus* under the Lex Calpurnia of 67. P. Sulla by the younger L. Manlius, son of the defeated candidate, and upon conviction were debarred from office (Cic. *Sulla* II, 49-50, 81; *Liv.*

TABLE 10.12. *Summary of the field data for the 1996-1997 season. The positive and negative estimates are given in parentheses.*

1. $\mathcal{H}^1(\mathbb{R}^n) \subset \mathcal{H}^2(\mathbb{R}^n)$ (see [1, p. 10]).

¹ "The Two Faces of the American Foreign Policy Establishment," *Foreign Affairs*, 24 (March-April 1946), pp. 2-10; *ibid.*, 25 (May 1946), pp. 3-4. This article refers to several examples of the unpredictability of course of congressional action. (For further examples, see M. H. Nash, *U.S. Foreign Service: A History*, 13-14 R. L. Bates, *U.S. Foreign Service: A History*, 252-253, esp. 255-256.)

Illustribus (61.3), his stern and severe personality (*severitas*) repelled the voters, and still made difficult his success in finally winning election in 143.¹⁰ He was elected censor in 131 (MRR 1.500).

8a. C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius (84) Pr. by 117 or 116

Valerius terms Metellus Caprarius a candidate for the consulate (111.7, *candidatus consulatus*) at the time of the death of his father Macedonicus in 115. If Shatzman is right in dating that death early in the year, Caprarius may either have withdrawn from competing or have been defeated in the elections for 114, as he was consul in 113.¹¹

9. Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (97) Cos. 109

Plutarch (*Marius* 28.4-6), quoting as his source Rutilius Rutilus, a contemporary of Marius and admittedly his enemy, records that Marius when competing in 101 for his sixth consulship, secured the defeat of a "Metellus" and the election of his rival, L. Valerius Flaccus (170) ("more a servant than a colleague"). By *protus* expenditures and buying of votes.¹² As this Metellus is described as a leader whom Marius feared, to whom he had been ungrateful, and whom he was scheming with Saturninus and Glaucia to remove from Rome, the evidence points convincingly to Numidicus. The series of consulships held in succession by Marius probably removed the objection that Numidicus' first one was less than ten years before, and his censorship, if begun early in 102 (MRR 1.567), almost certainly ended in 101 in time for him to compete for a second consulship in 100.¹³ His defeat removed a barrier to the passage of the agrarian law of Saturninus and the tumultuous activities of Saturninus and Glaucia in 100 (MRR 1.574, 575-576).

¹⁰ *Ann.* 115.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is probably the same as *Caecilius Metellus*, praetor in 108, *Ann.* 115.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3.

¹¹ *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3.

¹² *Plut.* *Marius* 28.4-6. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3.

¹³ *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3. *Caecilius* is also the name of a praetor in 144, *Ann.* 144.10.1-61.3.

CANDIDATES DEFEATED IN ROMAN ELECTIONS

10. M. Calinescu (4) Pr. 57

A candidate for the consulship of 50, M. Calpurnius, a leading orator in his time, was defeated by the election of L. Aemilius Paulus (61) and C. Claudius Marcellus (216). Cf. Caehus Rufus in *Cic. Epist.* 8.4.1. M. Calpurnius *ab repulsa postulatione*. Shackleton Bailey has shown that in *Cic. Att.* 5.19.3 and 68.3 Cicero refers to Calpurnius, not to Lucilius Hurus, and suggests that the latter passage, which is dated to October 1, 50, may refer to a second candidacy and defeat, this time for the consulship of 49 (*CLA* 3, App. II, pp. 314-315). See Marshall, *Asconius*, 128.

11. *Callosity domingus* (n-1) for two

A candidate for the consulship of 63, Cassius is named by Asconius as one of Cicero's six competitors, and is ranked with C. Antonius (19) as a plebeian *adules*.¹⁰ In the *Comperationum Pontificum* (7), he is named with P. Sulpicius Galba (55) as an unlikely candidate. In 63 he supported Catiline, and was condemned to death on the motion of D. Junius Silanus (103), consul designate for 62: see Marshall, *Asconius*, 282, 284. On Galba, see below, No. 34.

12. J. *Coronilla leucodactylus* Noyer (254) Pr. by 6). Plannen Marthals.

A candidate for the consulship of 58, Lucius Niger was defeated by the election of A. Calpurnius (11) and L. Calpurnius Piso (80), the candidates supported by the so-called First Triumvirate and the tribune P. Vatinius (31).

13. *J. Cornfield et al., Science* 133(3326), 197, 1945.

A candidate for the consulship of 91, L. Scipio competed with two patricians, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (350) his cousin, and Cn. Manlius Vulso (91), for the one patrician place (Liv. 35.24.4-5); P. Scipio and M. Atilius Glabrus (35) who had both been defeated the previous year (see be-

[illegible][illegible]
$$L(w) = 2^{\frac{1}{2}} \sqrt{1 + \frac{1}{2} \left(\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2} \right)} = 2^{\frac{1}{2}} \sqrt{1 + \frac{1}{2}} = 2^{\frac{1}{2}} \sqrt{\frac{3}{2}} = 2^{\frac{1}{2}} \cdot \frac{\sqrt{3}}{\sqrt{2}} = 2^{\frac{1}{2}} \cdot \frac{\sqrt{6}}{2} = \sqrt{6} \approx 2.45$$

For the 10×10 matrices A , λ is a complex eigenvalue of A if and only if $\bar{\lambda}$ is a complex eigenvalue of A^T . For the 10×10 matrices A , λ is a complex eigenvalue of A if and only if $\bar{\lambda}$ is a complex eigenvalue of A^T . For the 10×10 matrices A , λ is a complex eigenvalue of A if and only if $\bar{\lambda}$ is a complex eigenvalue of A^T .

14 CANDIDATES DEFEATED IN ROMAN ELECTIONS

of 102 with Marius as his colleague at a time when the final struggle with the Cimbri and the Teutones was imminent (MRR 1.567).

24. L. Manlius Torquatus (79) Pr. by 68

When a candidate for the consulship of 65, Torquatus was defeated in the regular election by the patrician, P. Cornelius Sulla (386), but after the conviction of the two victors, Sulla and Autronius Pactus (see above, No. 6, on L. Aurelius Cotta [102]) for *ambitus*, he and his colleague Cotta were successful in the ensuing second election.

25. Cn. Manlius Valso (91) Pr. 195

A candidate for the consulship of 192 (Liv. 35.10.2), Manlius was defeated by the election of L. Quinctius Flaminius (43) and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (18). He was again a candidate the next year for the consulship of 191, with L. Cornelius Scipio (337) and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (350) as competitors for the one patrician place, which Nasica won (Liv. 35.24.4-5; see above, No. 13, on L. Cornelius Scipio [377]). Manlius was finally elected to the consulship of 189 (MRR 1.580). See also Briscoe, *Comm.* 2, 180.

26. C. Marcus Figulus (62)

A prominent jurisconsult, Marcus Figulus, was a defeated candidate for the consulship in an unknown year. Valerius Maximus records that, stung by his defeat, he dismissed with a rebuke the crowd that came to consult him the next day: "As he was a son of the consul of the same name who held office in 162 and 156 (MRR 1.441, 447), his candidacy and the incident may be dated about 130 B.C. See W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen*, p. 14, no. 22.

¹ On the date of election, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of defeat, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of election, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of defeat, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of election, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of defeat, see above, p. 10, note 1.

² Val. Max. 6.1.1. On the date of election, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of defeat, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of election, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of defeat, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of election, see above, p. 10, note 1. On the date of defeat, see above, p. 10, note 1.

27. L. Marcus Philippus (75) Pr. by 96

A candidate for the consulship of 93, he was defeated by C. Valerius Flaccus (168), and, most surprisingly, by M. Herennius (10). * He was elected consul for 91, and to the censorship in 86 (MRR 2 20, and 54).

28. L. Opimius (4) Pr. 125

A candidate for the consulship of 122, Opimius was defeated when Gaius Gracchus, then tribune of the plebs (MRR 1 513, 517), gave his support to C. Fannius M. L. (7) (Plut. C. G. 8 2, 11 2-3). As the influence of Gracchus declined during the following year, Opimius won election to the consulship of 121 (MRR 1 520).

29. M. Porcius Cato (16) Pr. 54

A candidate for the consulship of 51, Cato damaged his own chances by persuading the Senate to decree the restriction of canvassing to personal meetings, and by refusing to engage in the usual greetings that might win good will and votes (what in the *Commentarii* are petitions [11] is called *diligentia petendi*), and so was defeated (Plut. Cato Mior. 49-50, Dio 40 58). ** Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (95) and M. Claudius Marcellus (229) were elected (MRR 2 240, 241).

30. L. Porcius Censorius (23) Pr. 193

The successful one of the three plebeian candidates for the consulship of 184 (MRR 1 374, see above, No. 4, on L. Aemilius Paullus). Porcius Censorius is shown by Livy's description of them (39 32 8, *et in consulis in spei impetrandi laudem alipando honore dilati*) to have been defeated in a previous election. It must have been between 191 and 185, but there is no record of the year.

* On M. Herennius, see Livy 10 1, 11 1, 12 1, 13 1, 14 1, 15 1, 16 1, 17 1, 18 1, 19 1, 20 1, 21 1, 22 1, 23 1, 24 1, 25 1, 26 1, 27 1, 28 1, 29 1, 30 1, 31 1, 32 1, 33 1, 34 1, 35 1, 36 1, 37 1, 38 1, 39 1, 40 1, 41 1, 42 1, 43 1, 44 1, 45 1, 46 1, 47 1, 48 1, 49 1, 50 1, 51 1, 52 1, 53 1, 54 1, 55 1, 56 1, 57 1, 58 1, 59 1, 60 1, 61 1, 62 1, 63 1, 64 1, 65 1, 66 1, 67 1, 68 1, 69 1, 70 1, 71 1, 72 1, 73 1, 74 1, 75 1, 76 1, 77 1, 78 1, 79 1, 80 1, 81 1, 82 1, 83 1, 84 1, 85 1, 86 1, 87 1, 88 1, 89 1, 90 1, 91 1, 92 1, 93 1, 94 1, 95 1, 96 1, 97 1, 98 1, 99 1, 100 1, 101 1, 102 1, 103 1, 104 1, 105 1, 106 1, 107 1, 108 1, 109 1, 110 1, 111 1, 112 1, 113 1, 114 1, 115 1, 116 1, 117 1, 118 1, 119 1, 120 1, 121 1, 122 1, 123 1, 124 1, 125 1, 126 1, 127 1, 128 1, 129 1, 130 1, 131 1, 132 1, 133 1, 134 1, 135 1, 136 1, 137 1, 138 1, 139 1, 140 1, 141 1, 142 1, 143 1, 144 1, 145 1, 146 1, 147 1, 148 1, 149 1, 150 1, 151 1, 152 1, 153 1, 154 1, 155 1, 156 1, 157 1, 158 1, 159 1, 160 1, 161 1, 162 1, 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** On Cato's description of his defeat, see Seneca 1 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940

His radical program, and the weakness of the other candidates, brought strong conservative support to Cicero (Ascon. 94C, *consul omnium consensu factus* 84), while C. Antonius, probably aided by the memory of his father, the distinguished orator, M. Antonius (28), received the votes of a few more centuries than Catiline and was elected (Ascon. *pateris-centurus Catilinam superavit*, cf. Sall. *Cat.* 21.1-24.1).

Defeated for 63, Catiline was again a candidate the next year, for 62, and competed with at least three others: Servius Sulpicius Rufus (95), the famous jurist (below, No. 37), who was defeated, and the two who were successful, D. Iunius Silanus (163) and L. Lucius Murena (129) (MRR 2.172). While competing, Catiline was at the same time arming forces, and plotting attacks on the consul Cicero (Sall. *Cat.* 26.1 *omnibus modis insidias parabat Cicero*), while the latter aroused feeling against him by wearing a breastplate and having the protection of an armed guard of friends during the election (Sall. *Cat.* 26.4, *Mar.* 52, *Dom.* 37-29). It was after this defeat that Catiline turned fully to armed rebellion. See F. G. Hardy, *RS* 7 (1917) 153-228, esp. 157-162, 166-172, 178-185; M. Gelzer, *St. H. A.*, 1697-1704; Marshall, *Asconius*, 281-283, 317-318; A. Kaplan, *Catiline: The Man and his Role in the Roman Revolution*, 51-61.

33. *P. Servilius Vatia (Isauricus)* (93)

Servilius Vatia held a praetorship, probably in 90 B.C., and his triumph *pro praetore* in 88 from an unknown province, perhaps Spain or Sardinia, was recorded in the *Acta Triumphalia* (A. Degraiser, *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1.841, 563; see MRR 2.25, 30, note 4, 35, 13). Plutarch (*Sulla* 10.2-4) mentions that in 88 two candidates for offices *iudant* whom Sulla preferred, one named Servaeus and the other named Numus, a nephew of Sulla, were rejected by the people because of Sulla's unpopularity. Mommsen's emendation of Servaeus to Servilius was accepted by Drumann-Groebe (*RE* II, 559) and Munzer (*RE* II A, 1812, and *APF* 303). If it is correct, the future Isauricus, the most probable identification, was a defeated candidate for the consulship of 87 when another patrician, L. Cornelius Cinna, was elected (MRR 2.45). In 80, after Sulla's victory, Servilius was elected for 79 (MRR 2.82). On Numus, see below, Tribunes of the Plebs, No. 6.

34. *P. Sulpicius Galba* (55) Pr. by 66

A patrician candidate for the consulship of 63, Galba is described by Asconius (82C) as *sobrius et sanctus*, while Ci-

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cent (AD 111), dated to July of 65) was sure he would compete but noted that his canvassing was meeting with flat refusals. Galba was one of the four, Galba, Cassius, Cornificus, and Lucius Saccus, *qui properabant*.¹⁰ See above, No. 73, on 4. Sergius Catilina.

34. See Stepien and Geller (57) p. 182

A candidate for the consulship of 184, Cialba had also been one for a previous year as he was one of the three patricians whom Livy calls *vetere candidati* (39.32.6). As he had held a praetorship in 187, he must have been a candidate in 186 for the consulship of 185. See above, No. 4, on L. Aemilius Paulus (114).

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This Gallia, a former legatus of Caesar in Gaul (MRG 2 199, 205, 212), was a candidate, apparently with Caesar's support, for the consulship of 49, but was defeated by the election of two of Caesar's opponents, C. Claudius Marcellus (217) and L. Cornelius Lentulus Cras (218).¹ He had been elected an augur before 49 (Cic. *Att.* 9.9.3). He was one of the conspirators against Caesar (cf. Cic. *Phil.* 13.33), and in 43 served as a legatus under Hortius and as an envoy for Decimus Brutus (MRG 2 351, 355).

17. See *Supplement Notes* (1955) 17-18.

Prominent as a juriscounsel, Sen. Sulpius Rufus competed for the consulship of 62, but was defeated by the election of D. Iunius Silanus (163) and L. Iunius Murena (125).⁴ See AFR 2:172. With support from Calpurnius Piso, Sul-

[illegible][illegible]

picius prosecuted Murena for *ambitus*, but Cicero defended him and won his acquittal (Cic. *Mur. passim*). Cicero mentions Sulpicius in a letter to Atticus late in April, 58, as a possible candidate for the consulship of 58 (Att. 2.5.2; 5B, CLA 1.361), but there is no evidence that he became a candidate either then or before he stood for the consulship of 51 (MRR 2.240-241).³⁸ See Marshall, *Asconius*, 139, 176-177.

38. Q. Terentius Culleo (53) Pr. 187

A candidate for the consulship of 181, with four patricians and two other plebeians as rivals, Terentius was defeated by the election of P. Claudius Pulcher (305) and L. Porcius Cato (23) (Liv. 39.32.8). See above, No. 4, on L. Aemilius Paullus (114). Livy indicates that all the plebeian candidates had stood before. Terentius, a praetor in 187, must previously have tried and been defeated for the consulship of 185 when Ap. Claudius Pulcher (294) and M. Sempronius (65) were elected (Liv. 39.23.2). See above, No. 7, on Cn. Baebius Lamphilus (141).

39. L. Turrus (2) Pr. 75

A candidate for the consulship of 64, Turrus, though a *nobilis homo* or of a recently senatorial family, fell short of election by only a few centuriae (Cic. *Brut.* 237 *paucis centuriis ad consulatum defuerunt*, cf. Att. 1.1.2). L. Julius Caesar (145) and C. Marcus Figulus (65) were elected consuls for 64 (MRR 2.161).

40. L. C. Valerius Flaccus (168) Pr. by 96

Observing that nobles who had been defeated candidates in one election year had often been successful the following year, E. Badian suggested that, of the two distinguished nobles who were candidates for the consulship of 94, the one who was defeated by the *nobilis homo*, C. Coelius Caldus (12),

³⁸Plutarch (at Att. 49.2) remarks that Sulpicius was overruled when he was a candidate for the consulship of 52 for not withdrawing in favor of his competitor, and in gratitude for the aid he had received from Cato in the past. See above, No. 29, on M. Porcius Cato (16).

³⁹On the name and the identity of the praetor of 75 who is thought to be Turrus, the later candidate for the consulship, perhaps of 64, see St. C. 3.1.292, 293; Weynenh, *Nob. Men.* 267, no. 449; *Summe* (index), 127; Marshall, *Asconius*, 308-10; MRR 2.299-310.

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was C. Valerius Flaccus (168), who was elected the next year as consul for 93 (*Studios*, 94-95, 103-104, note 159).²⁰

41. M. Valerius Messalla (252) Pr. 193

A candidate for the consulship of 189, Valerius Messalla had as competitors the plebeian M. Fulvius Nobilior (91) and two patricians, Cn. Manlius Vulso (91) and M. Aemilius Lepidus (88). He was badly defeated (*Nam Messalla uicisti*), while Fulvius and finally Manlius were elected (Liv. 37.47.6-8, *MRK* 1.349). He won the consulship the following year for 188 (Liv. 38.35.1, *MRK* 1.365). On these elections, see above, No. 2, on M. Aemilius Lepidus (68).

2. Candidates Who Withdrew or Were Prevented from Competing

1. Q. Atilius Papius (103) Pontifex

Papius was a candidate for the consulship of 216, in the *interregnum* at the beginning of that consular year, in competition with three patricians, P. Cornelius Merenda (260; see below, No. 11), L. Manlius Vulso (92; see below, No. 16), and M. Aemilius Lepidus (67; see below, No. 2), and two other plebeians, C. Atilius Serranus (62; see below, No. 7), and C. Terentius Varro (83). At first, although all competed, only Varro secured election as none of the others received a majority of the centuries, and so took office at once and became responsible for the election of a colleague. According to Livy (22.34-35), the *nobilitas*, believing that none of the others was strong enough for so critical a time in the war with Hannibal, pressed L. Aemilius Paullus (118, Cos. 219), though unwilling, to become a candidate on the next consular day. All who had competed with Varro withdrew, and Paullus was elected.²¹ Papius died in the battle of Cannae (Liv. 22.21-7).

²⁰ Compare Liv. 11.27, if a candidate for 168, who was, in Livy's account, elected at least in an *interregnum* prior to the election of the consuls for 168, *interregnum* postquam electi sunt in interregnum, *interregnum* postquam electi sunt in interregnum, *interregnum* postquam electi sunt in interregnum, *interregnum* postquam electi sunt in interregnum.

²¹ There has been much discussion of Livy's account of the consular elections for 216, some expressing doubt of its accuracy as a whole, or at least of various details, and some rallying to its historicity, the latter being by G. V. Colson, "Electores at Rome in 216 B.C.," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 24 (1923), 1-11. There is no mention of the *interregnum* in the text of Livy. The scene described is extremely complicated, variously interpreted and, above, external the Senate's procedure, so as to follow Livy's account of the elections without endangering public safety, the date named by a consul is found to be 216, another, and

2. *Al. Acanthaceae* Legendre (1877) Pr 218

Lepidus was a candidate for the consulship of 216, who failed of election with C. Terentius Varro (83), and withdrew when L. Aemilius Paullus (119) became a candidate (Liv. 22.34-35). See above, No. 1, on Q. Aulus Paetus (103). Lepidus may have been elected a praetor suffectus in 216, and was a praetor again in 215 (MRR 1.249 and 253, note 2, 263 and 266, notes 1 and 2).

3. *M. acuminatus* Reichenow (128) Flamen Martialis

Aemilius Regillus was a candidate for the consulship of 214, along with L. Otacilius Crassus (12, see below, No. 21), but when these two received the vote of the *centuria praetoria*, Aemilius nuntium Fabius Maximus the Censor, the presiding consul, stopped proceedings, and urged them to vote for commanders who would be a better match for Hannibal, this without regard for the furious objections of Otacilius, who was his son-in-law. In a second vote the *centuria* named Fabius himself and M. Claudius Marcellus (220). They were elected, Fabius to his fourth consulship and Marcellus to his third (Liv. 24.7-10 9-6; AIRR 1.258-259). Livy mentions no other candidates.

4. 3d Chemical Social (191) Fr 54

Scaurus, son of the famous consul of 115 and princeps senatus, was a candidate for the consulship of 53, with C. Memmius (B: see below, No. 20), Cn. Domitius Calvinus (43, Suppl. 3, col. 594), and another patrician, M. Valerius Messalla (Rutius) (268) as competitors. He was prosecuted in 54 for extortion in his province, Sardinia, and upon acquittal on September 2 (see Asconius (B: 20C)), he engaged, like his rivals, in massive bribery, and, like them, was pros.

finally an integration in which each one served without election, and the apparent weakness of the other candidates leads to the drafting of a stronger and more experienced commander by General Tadhiri when the others withdrew. The use of conflicts between patriots and plebeians to explain changes and delays seems unconvincing. The hypothetical choice of the elected commander that accepted the intervention and was in the unfortunate decision in favour of immediate aggression with no regard to the moral implications (Kumar 1970: 56) perhaps and for similar reasons, neglects the intervention and with it the order of the elections. But it is interesting to see that the 1970s and 1980s (Bayman 1976: 74 [1984] 265–266) while admitting the structuralist model that the basic facts are reliable, and use a subsequent explanation for the series of changes and delays in the conflict between those who favoured peace and aggression, actors against internal and those who favoured a continuation of a Fatwa strategy. The result of the election was a victory for the latter.

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ected for *ambitus*, while his candidacy failed.¹⁷ Cicero again came to his defense (Quint. Inst. Or. 4.1.88), but he was convicted in 52 under a law that Pompey had carried as sole consul (App. BC 2.24), and had no further career. Domitius Calvinus and Valerius Messalla were finally elected in July of 53 (MRR 2.227–228; 3.214) after an excessively long *interregnum*.

5. L. Annius Milo (Pignus) (67) Pr. 55

A candidate for the consulate of 52, Milo competed with E. Plautius Hypsaenus (23, see below, No. 22) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio (89). P. Clodius Pulcher (48), his enemy, competing for a praetorship in 52, and a supporter of Hypsaenus and Scipio, opposed Milo bitterly in the belief that as consul he would curb and weaken his praetorship. Both engaged in profuse expenditure and were attended by armed bands. Their strife prevented the holding of elections for 52 in 53, and the creation of interreges early in 52, and reached its climax when Clodius was murdered by Milo's guards on January 18 in a clash at Bovillae. Disorders, which included the burning of the Curia, led to the election of Pompey as sole consul. Under Pompey's new legislation Milo was tried and convicted *de vi*, though Cicero spoke in his defense. He went into exile at Massilia, convicted in absence also *de ambitu* and *de sodalibus*. See Ascenius 30–56C, Cicero, *Pro*

¹⁷ Scipio and Messalla appear to have had at first some support from the *tribuni*. This is Scipio's first Pompey and Messalla's first Caesar. Both of them, in the profuse tributes and the ostentatious electioneering, including a warlike, although not a belated, return to the consular office, and even the case of L. Titius, Messalla, and Domitius (see 40, 41, 66, 164, 165, 171, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Mithras, passim, and, on Clodius, below, Praetors, Part 2, No. 1. Note also Lintott, "Cicero and Milo," *JRS* 65 (1974) 62-78; Marshall, *Asconius*, 159-213.

5a. ? C. Aquilius Gallus (23) Pr. 66

An eminent jurist whom Cicero mentions as a possible candidate for the consulship of 63, but one not likely to compete (*Aff.* 1.1.1). See SB, *Cl.A.* 1.298; Marshall, *Asconius*, 281; *MRR* 2.152. He is not named on Asconius' list (82C).

6. Q. Arrius (8, cf. 7) Pr. 73

Q. Arrius, probably the praetor of 73 (*MRR* 2.109, 117, 3.25), was a close associate of Crassus, and the man through whom L. Lucceius in 60 expected to arrange a *condu* with Caesar in the contest for the consulship of 59 (*Aff.* 1.17.11, cf. *Brut.* 242-243; SB, *Cl.A.* 1.328-329, and above, Part 1, No. 22, on L. Lucceius). It is clear that Arrius hoped to compete for the consulship of 58, but he may never have become a candidate, since both he and Cicero were aware by April of 59 that he no longer had support from the *Triumvirs*.²

7. C. Atilius Serranus (62) Pr. 216

Atilius was a candidate for the consulship of 216, but withdrew after the election of Terentius Varro (83) when L. Annibius Paullus became a candidate (*Liv.* 22.34-35). See above, No. 1, on Q. Aelius Paetus (103).

7a. ? L. Autidius (12)

Praetor in 67 or 66, and after it a successful governor of Asia (*Val. Max.* 6.9.7; *MRR* 2.143-154; *AJP* 111 [1990] 73-74). Cicero names him as an unlikely candidate for the consulship of 63 (*Aff.* 1.1.1: *De Autidio et de Pulcrum non puto te expectare dum scribam*). See SB, *Cl.A.* 1.291; Marshall, *Asconius*, 281. He is not named in Asconius' list of candidates for 63 (82C).

²See *Cl.A.* 1.242, on L. Arrius, praetor in 73, and his association with the 273 *actio*, the *Arrius consulatus*, in explanation of the identity of Q. Arrius, praetor in 73, with the Arrius named above, see P. E. Baker and P. A. Marshall, *ibid.* 24, 1.678, 129-131. See also SB, *Cl.A.* 1.328; A. M. Ward, *Marcellus and the Late Roman Republic*, 85, note 43, 265, note 62; P. A. Marshall, *op. cit.*, "Cicero's *Asconius*," 101-105; *MRR* 2.25; W. A. Grunmeel, *Cl.A.* 49 (1953-54) 159-155, esp. 152.

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8 ² M. Caesonius (3) Pr. by 66

In a letter to Atticus in July, 65, Cicero mentions Caesonius as a possible but improbable candidate for the consulship of 63.² Asconius makes no mention of him in his list of the seven who competed (82C).

9 C. Claudius Pulcher (503) Pr. 56

Cicero in his speech *Pro Scauro* suggests that the attacks of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (297), consul in 54, on the candidacy of his client, M. Aemilius Scaurus (141), for the consulship of 53 are due to the possibility that he would be a rival of C. Claudius Pulcher, his brother, then governor of the province of Asia, who might return to compete for 53, which would in fact be *suus annus*.³ But his command was extended for another year.

10. P. Cornelius Dolabella (141) It. pl. 47

According to Cicero,⁴ Caesar had promised and confirmed for Dolabella the regular consulate for 44, thus inducing him to become a candidate with M. Antonius as his colleague, and then had disappointed him by taking the consulship himself. After Caesar's assassination Dolabella, apparently without opposition from Antonius or the Liberators, proceeded to assume the consular insignia and authority.⁵

11. P. Cornelius Merenda (266)

Cornelius Merenda, a candidate for the consulship of 216, withdrew along with the others after the election of C. Ter-

² Cic. *Ad Att.* 1.1.1. "Quoniam tamen cum quibusdam amicitiam habet."

³ Cic. *Scauro*, 33. *Ad Att.* 1.1.1. "Quod si non esset, non esset etiam C. Claudius Pulcher, cuius praetoratus per hoc annum in Italia est, et qui si in Italia esset, non esset etiam C. Claudius Pulcher, cuius praetoratus per hoc annum in Italia est, et qui si in Italia esset, non esset etiam C. Claudius Pulcher, cuius praetoratus per hoc annum in Italia est." F. Courtney points out that by the time of the trial of Scaurus (supra, 53) C. Claudius Pulcher was already committed to another year as governor of Asia, and Cicero was simply stating a possibility, not a fact (supra, 1.1.1).

⁴ Cic. *Phil.* 2.79. "Quod si non esset, non esset etiam C. Claudius Pulcher, cuius praetoratus per hoc annum in Italia est, et qui si in Italia esset, non esset etiam C. Claudius Pulcher, cuius praetoratus per hoc annum in Italia est." Courtney points out that by the time of the trial of Scaurus (supra, 53) C. Claudius Pulcher was already committed to another year as governor of Asia, and Cicero was simply stating a possibility, not a fact (supra, 1.1.1).

⁵ See *MRG* 2.107.

entius Varro (83) when L. Aemilius Paulus (118) became a candidate (Liv. 22.34-35). See above, No. 1, on Q. Aelius Paetus (103).

12. L. Dornblaser, *Altenachensis* (127) 177-88.

Domitius, as a candidate for the consulship of 55, a year which he had good reason to consider as *suus annus*, faced the opposition of Pompey and Crassus, who were planning to become consuls that year themselves. Elections were delayed by trickery and violence, so that they might postpone the announcement of their candidates and the elections, and thus force an *interregnum*. As their intentions became known, the other candidates, not named in our sources, withdrew, but Domitius, with the support of Cato, persisted until a slave was killed and Cato was wounded.⁴² Pompey and Crassus were elected as planned. Domitius was elected, apparently without difficulty, to the consulship of 54 (ARR 2.221).

13. *C. fufius* *Microtus kullbacki* (114) Nos. 322, 310, 305, 297, 295

Fabius Maximus, in his fourth consulship, was holding the elections for the consulship of 296. As Livy describes it (10.15.7-12 – probably from unreliable sources), the centuriae were unanimously voting to name Maximus consul, and his competitor for the patrician place, the ambitious candidate, Appius Claudius Cæcus (91), with the support of all the nobility, pressed for the restoration of both consulships to the patricians. Fabius refused and withdrew, saying that he would have accepted the names of two patricians if he could see another than himself made consul, but would not commit the extremely bad precedent of illegally accepting his own candidacy. The plebeian, L. Volturnus Flamma Volens (43), and Appius Claudius Cæcus (91) were elected consuls for 296 (MRR 1.176), and Fabius consul again for 295 (MRR 1.177).

[4] C. Jaffee, *Caracas: Spanish Vocabulary* (1955)

C. Caesar, a brother of the consul of 90, and an orator noted for his wit and charm, held a curule aedileship in 90. His candidacy for the consulship without having been pra-

[illegible]

etor is securely attested, and T. N. Mitchell (CPJ 70 [1975] 197-204) has made a strong argument in favor of the view that he had secured from the Senate an exemption from the requirement to hold the praetorship first (Cic. *Phil.* 11.11, cf. *Har. Resp.* 43, Asc. on 25C). The precise date is disputed, whether he began late in 89 to compete for the consulship of 88 or, more probably, in 88 for that of 87, nor is the reason certain for Caesar's haste to attain the consulship. The summary account in Diodorus (37.2.12) has him aiming at the command against Mithridates, but it seems unlikely with Marius and Sulla on the scene. It is certain that the tribunes P. Antistius (18) and P. Sulpicius Rufus (92) opposed the candidacy from the start as illegal, first using legal methods (*iuri*), a reference perhaps to the grant of exemption, and, when he continued, turned to force (Asc. on 25C, Cic. *Phil.* 226-227) and thus put an end to the candidacy.⁶ The conflict with Caesar Strabo somehow led the tribune Sulpicius Rufus to leave his former optimate associations, turn to measures such as the return of the Varian exiles and the registration of the new Italian citizens and the freedmen in all the tribes, and the appointment of Marius to supplant Sulla in the command against Mithridates (MRK 2.41-42), which led swiftly to Sulla's march on Rome, and the death of Sulpicius himself. Caesar Strabo perished, along with his brother and many other leading men, in the Marian 'massacre' when Marius and Cinna returned to power in Rome in the latter part of 87.

15. *P. Fabianus* - (6) Pr. by 59.⁷

The position in 50 B.C. of P. Fabianus, Caesar's legatus pro praetore since 58 in Gaul, is described as follows by Hirtius: *P. Fabianus Galliae praefectus togatae quo magis commendatione conciliaretur ad consulatus petitionem* (BC 8.52.2), thus

⁶ Asc. on 25C, *supra*, and Cic. *Phil.* 226-227, *supra*, and Diodorus 37.2.12, *supra*, both of which both in the context and in isolation are ambiguous. None of the other sources, however, except the *Har. Resp.* 43, *supra*, seem to have any doubt as to the illegality of the exemption from the requirement to hold the praetorship first. The *Phil.* 11.11, *supra*, and Cicero's *Har. Resp.* 43, *supra*, are certainly correct in this regard. The *Phil.* 226-227, *supra*, and Diodorus 37.2.12, *supra*, which state that Sulpicius used force to prevent the election of Caesar, are certainly correct in this regard, but they do not say that Sulpicius used force to prevent the election of Caesar, which is what the *Phil.* 11.11, *supra*, and Diodorus 37.2.12, *supra*, say.

⁷ For discussion of Sulla's candidacy with the tribunes of Sulpicius and the complex context of that time, see, for example, *supra*, *op. cit.*, 136-142, 147-149, esp. 141-142, in favor of the earlier date. T. N. Mitchell, 'The Career of P. Sulpicius Rufus in 88 B.C.', *J. of the Hist. Soc.* 1975, 143-154; A. W. Lintott, 'The Tribunate of P. Sulpicius Rufus, CQ 25 (1975) 441-447; A. Kajantien, 'Sulla, Sulpicius and Caesar Strabo', *Tammius* 38 (1979) 451-460; B. A. Marshall, *CJ* 8 (1982) 146-148, and on the death of Caesar Strabo, *ibid.* 146.

although he had heard that his enemies in Rome had been in touch with him. This action, placing Labienus in charge of Cisalpine Gaul, could be regarded as a conciliatory gesture, but Syme accepts also the view that it was a preparation for Labienus to compete, probably with Caesar as his colleague, for the consulship of 48 (*Roman Papers* 162-75). The departure of Labienus early in January of 49 to join the forces opposed to Caesar ended any such plan. W. R. Tyrrell accepts Syme's interpretation of the passage, but while Syme attributes Labienus' action to his old and continued loyalty to Pompey, Tyrrell points to his contact with Caesar's enemies, the group about Cato, and suggests that his action represented a decision "to join a legitimate government in a struggle against a revolutionary proconsul who placed his *dignitas* above his country" (*Historia* 21 [1972] 424-440).

15a. *M. Tullius P. Calpurnius* (21, cf. 8) (Pr. by 59)

Calpurnius, as tribune of the plebs in 71, was active in securing the restoration in 70 of the powers of the tribunate (MRK 2.122). His candidacy for the consulship of 66 was cut short by the declaration of C. Calpurnius Piso, consul in 67, a conservative and a strong opponent of Calpurnius, who was holding the election, that even if Calpurnius should be elected he (Piso) would refuse to announce him.¹⁴ Cato's mention of Calpurnius in *Att.* 1.1.1 may mean that, although he appeared to have no chance, he might have had some hope for 63, but there is no evidence of any action.

16. *Q. Laetinius Atella* (25)

Laetinius Atella was a leader in the Marian party who defected to Sulla (*Vell.* 2.27-6), under whose command he had charge of the siege of Praeneste (*Liv. Per.* 88, see MRK 2.72). When he insisted, against Sulla's order, on an illegal candidacy for the consulship, he was put to death at Sulla's command (*Liv. Per.* 89, *Plut. Sulla* 33.4, *App. BC* 1.104).¹⁵

¹⁴ *Vell.* *Atell.* 1.4.1: *(Sulla) cum praetore et consulibus decessit, et hoc in certum finit* ("Not content with making the election and leaving behind the system of election, he then immediately went on to die" *Vell.* 2.92). On this passage, and on the legality of the election, see F. Cassola, *Atell.* 1.4.1-16, *Roman Papers* 38, *Seachew, Script and Roman Voting and Elections* 240-241, and note 20; R. Koenig, *Laetinius* 147; Marshall, *Atell.* 226-247, 301, and on 63, 261.

¹⁵ Cf. A. G. Numa's citation, 108-107, while noting that Appian states explicitly that Laetinius Atella was an *atell* and had held neither a quaestorship nor a praetorship, suggests that the words *Memorem* *habeat* *perit* *perit* (*Vell.* 2.27) may mean that he had been a praetor, and his offence was that of becoming a consular candidate too soon.

ambitu and convicted (Cic. *Ql* 2.15.4, 16.2; 3.1.16, *Att.* 4.15.7, 17.2, 18.3; above, note 2). See Sumner, *HSP* 86 (1982) 135-139, SB, CLA 1.331.

21. *T. Otacilius Crassus* (12) Pr. 212, 214

Otacilius received the vote of the *centuria praenotata* in the elections for the consulship, both for 214 and for 210, but the *centuria* was persuaded to change its vote on both occasions (Liv. 24.7-10, 9.6, and 26.22-15), and he was defeated. See above, No. 3, on M. Aemilius Regillus (186), and No. 17, on L. Manlius Torquatus (182).

22. *P. Plautius Hypsaetus* (23) Pr. by 55

Plautius was a candidate for the consulship of 52, competing with L. Annius Milo (67) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Scipio (99). See above, No. 5, on Milo. He had support from Clodius, then a candidate for the praetorship, whose followers after his murder brought the *hoci* from the grove of Lavinia to the houses of both Hypsaetus and Metellus Scipio (Ascon. 30). Although he had had some support from Pompey, under whom he had served as quaestor and praetor (Ascon. 35; *MRR* 2.153, 164), Pompey rejected his appeal when he was prosecuted *de ambitu*, and he was convicted. See Ascon. 33-56; *Plaut. Pomp.* 55-6; Val. Max. 9.5.3; App. *BC* 2.24, Dio 40.53-1, and Marshall, *Asconius*, 160, 212.

23. *C. Scribonius Curio* (10) Pr. by 80

Curio was a candidate for the consulship of 77, but withdrew in favor of a competitor, M. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus (80), who had been defeated the previous year (Sall. *Hist.* 1, fr. 80 M; see above, Part 1, No. 3, on Lepidus Livianus). Curio was elected consul for 76 (*MRR* 2.92).

24. *L. Sergius Catilina* (23) Pr. 68

Catiline made his first attempt to compete for the consulship immediately after his return from his praetorian province of Africa in 68. L. Volcatius Tullus, consul in charge of the elections for 65, after consultation with his *consilium*, refused to accept his candidacy, formally because Catiline was unable to make his *profectio* the number of days required by

III. CANDIDATES FOR THE CENSORSHIP

1. *M. Atilius Glabrio* (35) Cos. 191

Atilius Glabrio, victor over Antiochus III at Thermopylae in 191, was a candidate for the censorship in 189, a *novus homo* against five distinguished competitors in a hotly contested election (Liv. 37.57.9-58.2). Three of them, L. Quinctus Flaminius (45), Cos. 198, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (350; see below, No. 4), L. Valerius Flaccus (473; see below, No. 15), were patricians, and the other three, M. Claudius Marcellus (222), Cos. 196, M. Porcius Cato (9), Cos. 195 (see below, No. 9), and Atilius himself were plebeians. All six were consulars. Atilius had celebrated a triumph, had won popular support by extensive largesse, and had Scipionic backing, but two tribunes, with Cato among the witnesses, indicted him for appropriation of booty from the camp of Antiochus which had not appeared in his triumph and had not been brought to the treasury, but pressed the charge no further when he withdrew. Livy ascribes the opposition to envy of a popular "new man." It may also be a sign of the weakening of Scipionic influence. L. Quinctus Flaminius and M. Claudius Marcellus were elected. See *MRR* 1.360-361; Suolahti, *RC* 340, 646.

2. *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* (295) Cos. 143

Claudius Pulcher was a rival in 142 of Scipio Aemilianus in the election for the censorship for the patrician place and was defeated (Plut. *Ap. Claud.* 36.3-4, *Vie. Scip.* 32). He was elected with Q. Fufius Nobilior (95) to the censorship of 136 (*MRR* 1.486; see Suolahti, *RC* 383, 398-401).

3. *L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus* (337) Cos. 190

L. Scipio Asiaticus, brother of Africanus, was a candidate for the censorship in 181, at a time when Scipionic influence had been very seriously weakened by the attacks of the Elder Cato and "The Trials of the Scipios." His competitors were four patricians, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (350), his

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cousin (see below, No. 4), making his second attempt, L. Furius Purpurio (86; see below, No. 6), Cn. Marcius Vulso (91; see below, No. 8), and L. Valerius Flaccus (173; see below, No. 15), also for the second time, and four plebeians, M. Fulvius Nobilior (91; see below, No. 5), Ti. Sempronius Longus (67; see below, No. 12), Ti. Sempronius Tuditanus (95; see below, No. 13), and the candidate who dominated both the hotly contested election and the subsequent censorship, M. Porcius Cato (9; see below, No. 10), in his second attempt. See Liv. 39.40.6-41.4, and 42.5-45.9, *Plut. Cat. Mai.* 16-19. L. Valerius Flaccus was elected with Cato (Liv. 39.41.4, Suolahti, *RC* 347-348, *MRR* 1.374-375). In their survey as censors of the Equites, they ordered Scipio Asiaticus to give up his horse (Liv. 39.44.1).

4. *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica* (350) Cos. 191

Scipio Nasica was a candidate for the censorship of 189 (Liv. 37.57.9-58.2), and again for that of 184 (Liv. 39.40.1-41.4), and was defeated both times (cf. Suolahti, *RC* 258, 358). See above, No. 1, on Atilius Calpurnius, and No. 3, on Scipio Asiaticus.

5. *M. Fulvius Nobilior* (91) Cos. 189

Fulvius Nobilior, a candidate for the censorship of 184, was defeated by the election of M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus (Liv. 39.40.6-41.4). See above, No. 3, on Scipio Asiaticus. In his second candidacy in 179 he was elected along with his enemy of long standing, M. Aemilius Lepidus (68). The stage was thus set for a resounding public reconciliation, which was often referred to as a model of laying down private quarrels for the public good (Liv. 40.45.6-46.16, *Cic. Pro. Cato* 20). See Suolahti, *RC* 348, 361; *MRR* 1.392. On their enmity, see above, Chapter II, Part I, No. 2, on M. Aemilius Lepidus.

6. *L. Furius Purpurio* (86) Cos. 196

Furius Purpurio, a candidate for the censorship in 184, was defeated by the election of M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus (Liv. 39.40.1-41.4, Suolahti, *RC* 348-349). See above, No. 3, on Scipio Asiaticus.

7. *M. Iunius Brutus* (48) Cos. 178

Iunius Brutus was a candidate for the censorship of 169, with five competitors, three of them patricians, C. Claudius

Pulcher (500), Cos. 177, L. Postumius Albinus (41; see below, No. 11), and C. Valerius Laevinus (208; see below, No. 16), and two plebeians, P. Mucius Scaevola (16; see below, No. 9) and T. Sempronius Gracchus (53), Cos. 177 (Liv. 43.14.1). Claudius Pulcher and Sempronius Gracchus were elected (Liv. 43.14.1). See Suolahti, *RC* 371, *MRR* 1.423-424.

8. *Cn. Manlius Vulso* (91) Cos. 189

Manlius Vulso was a candidate for the consulship of 189, and was defeated by the election of Cato and Valerius Flaccus (Liv. 39.40.1-41.4). See Suolahti, *RC* 347-348; *MRR* 1.374. See above, No. 3, on Scipio Asiaticus.

9. *P. Mucius Scaevola* (16) Cos. 175

Scaevola was a candidate for the censorship of 169, and was defeated by the election of C. Claudius and T. Sempronius Gracchus (Liv. 43.14.1, cf. Suolahti, *RC* 371, *MRR* 1.423-424). See above, No. 7, on M. Junius Brutus.

10. *M. Porcius Cato* (9) Cos. 195

Cato was a candidate for the censorship of 189, and was defeated by the election of L. Quinctius Flamininus and M. Claudius Marcellus (Liv. 37.57.9-58.1). See *MRR* 1.360-361, and above, No. 4, on M. Aemilius Calpurnius. Cato was outstandingly successful in 184, when he was elected with L. Valerius Flaccus. See Suolahti, *RC* 338-341, *MRR* 1.374-375; and Briscoe, *Comm.* 2.380-392.

11. *L. Postumius Albinus* (41) Cos. 173

A candidate for the censorship of 169, Postumius Albinus was defeated by the election of C. Claudius Pulcher and T. Sempronius Gracchus (Liv. 43.14.1). See Suolahti, *RC* 371; *MRR* 1.423-424, and above, No. 7, on M. Junius Brutus.

12. *T. Sempronius Longus* (67) Cos. 194

Sempronius Longus was a candidate for the censorship of 184, and was defeated by the election of M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus (Liv. 39.40.1-41.4). See Suolahti, *RC* 348, *MRR* 1.374-375; and above No. 3, on L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (337).

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13. *Ti. Sempronius Tuditanus* (95) Cos. 185

A candidate for the censorship of 184. Sempronius Tuditanus was defeated by the election of M. Porcius Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus (Liv. 39.40.1-41.4). See Suolahti, *RC* 348-350; *MRR* I.374-375, and above, No. 3, L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus (337).

14. *7 Cn. Servilius Caepio* (46) Cos. 131

Noting that Servilius Caepio and Metellus Macedonicus cooperated in their unsuccessful indictment of Q. Pompeius upon his return from Spain in 139 (*Cic. Lent.* 23, *Val. Max.* 8.5.1) and in suppressing a slave revolt in Minturnae and Sinuessa in 133 (*Orros.* 5.4.4, *Obseq.* 27b), L. Heyne has suggested that a defeat of Caepio in the election for the censorship of 131, the first time both censors were plebeians, is the reason why they were not censors together then (*Historia* 27 [1978] 234-235). In a period when patrician consuls who competed usually attained the censorship promptly (Suolahti, *RC* 373-374, 405-409), Servilius Caepio won his in 125, sixteen years after his consulship (*MRR* I.510). There appears to be no direct evidence of candidacy or defeat in 131.

15. *L. Valerius Flaccus* (173) Cos. 195

A candidate for the censorship in 189, closely allied with M. Porcius Cato, Valerius Flaccus and Cato were both defeated by the election of L. Quinctius Flaminius and M. Claudius Marcellus (Liv. 37.57.9-58.2). See Briscoe, *Comm.* 2.390-392, Suolahti, *RC* 448-350, *MRR* I.374-375, and above, No. 1, on Aebutius Glabrio.

16. *C. Valerius Laevinus* (208) Cos. Sull. 176

A candidate for the censorship in 169, Laevinus was defeated by the election of Claudius Pulcher and D. Sempronius Gracchus (Liv. 43.14.1). See Suolahti, *RC* 371, *MRR* I.423-424, and above, No. 7, on M. Junius Brutus.

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Favonius was defeated in 51 when he was a candidate for a praetorship at 50,¹⁷ but he must have been elected to one in 49, as he is termed a *praetorius* in 48 (Vell. 2.53.1).¹⁸

7. M. *forbesi* (Cope) (differs) (10)

A candidate for a praetorship in 55, Cato persisted not only through the obstructive tactics of Pompey and Crassus late in 56 and the delay of the elections into 55 but also after they had been elected consuls in the *infamia* year and Pompey had charge of the elections. By means of bribery, violence, and obstruction (when the *contio* praetorized voted for Cato, Pompey, who was presiding, and himself an augur, heard thunder in a clear sky and dismissed the assembly) they secured the election of Vatinius and excluded Cato from that year.¹ Cato was elected, without apparent difficulty, to a praetorship of 54 (MRR 2 221-222).

2. Candidates Who Withdrew or Were Prevented from Competing

1. $\int_0^1 x^2 \cos \pi x \, dx = 0$ (1988)

Clodius, as he had been curule aedile in 56, was entitled under the *Lexes Annales* to compete for the praetorship in 55. According to Cicero (*Att.* 2.4), he made a beginning, but upon seeing that the long delay in that year would give only a few months in office and wanting to avoid having L. Aemilius Paullus as a colleague, he deserted his own proper year and transferred his candidacy to 52, the next year, not, so Cicero states, because of any scruple, but, as he himself was saying, in order to have a whole year unimpaired for his praetorship.¹ His quarrels with Annius Milo,

¹ Jacques-Bélais (1904–1982). See *Le langage littéraire* and *Le langage poétique* (1966), *Le langage du roman* (1970).

$\mathcal{F}(\text{expression})$ is a function that generates a new expression from an expression.

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a candidate for a consulship in 52, and his own tumultuous candidacy prevented the holding of elections on into 52, and came to a sudden stop when he was killed by members of Milo's armed guard in a clash of their forces at Bovillae on January 18, 52 (Ascon. 30-32C; Cic. *Mil. postum.*).

2. *Q. Fulvius Flaccus* (61)

Fulvius was a candidate for a suffect praetorship in 184, for the place of C. Decimus Flavius (8), praetor urbanus, who had died early in his year. His competitors were C. n. Silius (87) and L. Pupius (5), aediles of the plebs in 185, and C. Valerius Flaccus (168), Flamen Dialis (Liv. 39.39.2). Livy terms Fulvius *inditis curulis designatus* at the time, but he must have been actually in office as 184 was a plebeian year (Mommson, *StR* I² 513, note 3). The objection to his candidacy was the possible cumulation of magistracies, which had been made illegal long before (Liv. 7.42.4, in 342). When Fulvius persisted with popular support, the consul, Porcius Licinus, and the Senate, in order to avoid any possibility of cumulation of magistracies, decreed that the praetor peregrinus, P. Cornelius Cethegus (75), should assume the duties of the deceased praetor urbanus, and that there should be no election for a suffect praetor that year (Liv. 39.39.1-5).¹ Fulvius was elected a praetor for 182, and consul for 179 (MRR I 382, 391-392).

3. (C.) *Postumus* (4) or C. *Postumus* (12)

Postumus is the name in the manuscripts of Cicerio's *Pro Murena*, of a subscriber in the indictment for *ambitus* brought by the defeated candidate, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (95), against C. Licinius Murena, consul designate for 62, in the autumn of 63. This Postumus had been a candidate for a praetorship in that same year but had withdrawn.² There

shows *senatus in praetorem designatum* (Liv. 39.39.1) Sulpicius was elected in 182, and the *indictio* of praetorship occurred in 183, after his death in 184. Livy's *inditis curulis designatus* (Liv. 39.39.1) suggests that Sulpicius may have intended to stand for the praetorship in 182, but that perhaps in fact 183 was the year for his candidacy for the praetorship of 62. See also Livy 39.39.1-5 and 39.40.1-2, and note 100 Marshall, *Valerius* 162.

¹ See A. E. Astin, *Stagnation in the Absentee Election of 184 B.C.*, *J. Historia* II (1982) 252-256.

² Liv. 62.42.57: *Reprobatum enim Postumum praetorem designatum esse postquam auctor praetoris candidatus in cumulatione quae deest, non in quadrigenis, cumulum imperii. Cum competitorum nihil deperiret, dignitate non vacante, cum more designat.* Cf. 54, 56, 49.

V. CANDIDATES FOR THE AEDILESHIPS

Candidates for either of the two aedileships, curule or plebeian, have been gathered here into a single list because it is not always certain for which one they were competing, but it is stated in each instance whenever it is known. The two aedileships were, of course, quite different in nature and origin; whatever resemblances may have developed in their duties. The plebeian aedileship was as old as the tribunate of the plebs, and could be held only by plebeians. They were elected in the *comitia plebs* with a tribune presiding. The curule aedileship was created in 367 at the time when the consulship was opened to plebeians. The first incumbents were patricians, were frequently already consuls, but very soon the magistracy began to be held by patricians and plebeians in alternate years. In the Late Republic they competed together. The curule aediles were elected in the *comitia tributa* with a consul or a praetor presiding. In the development of the *cursus honorum* this magistracy could be omitted, but if held it came before the praetorship and was subject to the intervals prescribed in the *Leges Annales*.

1. Candidates Defeated in Regular Elections

1. *Ap. Claudius Pulcher* (296) Cos. 79

Ap. Claudius was defeated when a candidate for the curule aedileship (*Cic. Planc.* 51) probably in 95 or 94. He must have been successful soon afterward, as he had charge of the *Ludi Megalenses* (*Cic. Har. Resp.* 26), a duty incumbent on the curule aedile. The latest date is 92, as he held a praetorship in 89.

2. *P. Cornelius Scipio (Nasica) Scipio* (354) Cos. 138

or

P. Cornelius Scipio (Nasica) Scipio (355) Cos. 111

A *Scipio Nasica*, a candidate for the curule aedileship, while canvassing the voters, shook the hand of a rustic

¹ *Ann. Arch.* 9, cf. J. G. Dugan, *Comment. on Cic. Har. Resp.* 128-129, *MRE* 2.31.

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ably of 55,⁴ who after his defeat prosecuted the successful Plancius for bribery under Crassus' recent law *de sodalibus* (Cic. *Planc.* *passim* esp. 49-50; cf. *QJ* 3.1.11; Schol. Bob. 152 St). Cicero delivered the *Pro Plancio* in his defence and won his acquittal.

6. C. Iulius Hirrus (25)

Hirrus was a candidate, one of three, for a curule aedileship of 50, defeated by the election of M. Octavius (33) and M. Caelius Rufus (55). See Caelius' letters to Cicero, *Fam.* 8.2.2, 3.1, 4.3, and 9.1; Cicero, *Fam.* 2.10.1, to Caelius. See Marshall, *Asconius* 76.

7. C. Marius (14, Supb. 6) Cos. 107, 104-100, 86

Marius was a candidate for the curule aedileship who, when defeated, became at once a candidate for an aedileship of the plebs, and was defeated a second time.⁵ The year was probably 117, as he had been a tribune of the plebs in 119 and held a praetorship in 115 (MRR 1.526, 532).

8. Cn. Octavius (20) Cos. 87

Octavius was a candidate for an aedileship whose defeat Cicero lists with those of several others who later attained the consulship (*Planc.* 51: *aedilitate praetoribus consulibusque factis*), without specifying which of the individual examples refer to a curule or a plebeian aedileship. As Octavius held a praetorship in 90, his candidacy for an aedileship may be dated ca. 95 B.C. See SB, *Chronasticon* 72; Sumner, *Orators* 105, 115; MRR 2.26, 46; 3.151.

9. Q. Pedius (1) Pr. 48, Cos. Suff. 43

Pedius was a candidate for a curule aedileship, probably of 55 (cf. above, No. 5, on Iuventius Laterensis, and note 4), who is stated to have arranged, in the incomplete first elec-

⁴On the question whether the election was for the curule aedileship of 50 or of 54, see J. B. Taylor, *Athenaeum* 42 (1964) 12-28, and J. H. Jenkins, *ibid.* 43 (1965) 2284-302; MRR 1.584, all in favor of 54, and Sumner, *Orators* 125, 147, 210, in favor of 54.

⁵Caelius lists C. Iulius Hirrus as one of three defeated candidates for the curule aedileship of 50 in 117, *Fam.* 8.2.2, 3.1, 4.3, and 9.1; Cicero, *Fam.* 2.10.1, to Caelius. See Marshall, *Asconius* 76; MRR 2.26, 46; 3.151.

⁶Marius lists one of Cicero's examples in *Planc.* 72: *qui aedilibus aedilitate auctoritate semper agnoscitur et factus est Praet. Mar.* 5.1.2. See J. F. Cooley, 'A Biography of Marius 21

On Sept. 11, 1964, a 1000-lb. (454 kg) male, 200-cm (66 in.) long, 100-cm (39 in.) high, and non-pregnant female of the same size and age were bled for serum and plasma. The female had a 100-day gestation period and was carrying a single fetus of sex 135 (21 in. bl. and 38.5 in. long).

VI. CANDIDATES FOR THE TRIBUNATE OF THE PLEBS

1. *Cn. Aufidius Orestes* (12) Cos. 71

Cn. Orestes, whom Cicero names as one who, though defeated when a candidate for the tribunate, later attained the consulship (*Planc.* 52), seems best identified with the consul of 71 named above (MRK 2 121). He was an *Anrelinus Orestes* who was adopted by an *Aufidius* in his old age (R. G. D. 15, 88, *Lex. Studies* 84, 85, 105, *Onomasticon* 21). The date of his defeat was probably before 82, as candidates with ambitions for a further career would have avoided the tribunate between 81 and 75.

2. *C. Cassius Longinus* (57) Cos. 96

or

C. Cassius Longinus (58) Cos. 73

The candidate for the tribunate, *C. Cassius*, whom Cicero mentions (*Planc.* 52), who was defeated but later attained the consulship, may be identified with the *C. Cassius* who was consul in 96 or the one who was consul in 73 (SB, *Onomasticon* 31), both active in the period from which Cicero drew his examples. If he was the former, the date may be about 105, but if the latter, before 82.

3. ? *Flaminius* (7)

An obscure *Flaminius* is recorded by Appian (BC 3.31) as a candidate in the summer of 44 for a place in the college of tribunes of the plebs, perhaps the place made vacant by the death of *C. Helvius Cinna* (11, cf. 12, see MRK 2 324), and he had support from the young Octavian. As popular favor turned toward Octavian himself (App. BC 3 31) *M. Antonius* took measures to prevent an election. The identity of *Flaminius* remains obscure.

4. *C. Flavius Fimbria* (87) Cos. 104

The candidate, *C. Fimbria*, whom Cicero describes as one who, though defeated for the tribunate of the plebs, later

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attained the consulship (Planc. 52, cf. 12), seems best identified with the C. Flavius Fimbria who won the consulship as a colleague of Marius in 104 (MRR 1 558). See Wiseman, *Age Men* 331, No. 180, SB, *Chironasticon* 49, and above, Chapter II, Part 1, No. 23, on Q. Lutatius Catulus.

5. C. Marius (14, Supp. 6) Cos. 107, 104-100, 86

C. Marius, whose career is described by Valerius Maximus (6.9-14) as *maximae fortunae habitus*, is reported there to have been defeated when he was a candidate for the tribunate before he succeeded in winning it in 119. The report seems improbable as he had support at that time from the Metelli (Plut. *Mio*. 4-5) and there is no other mention of it. See E. L. Carney, *A Biography of Marius* 18; E. Gabba, 'Marius and Sulla,' *ANRW* 1.269-770; E. Badian, *DIJ* 25 (1963) 641-44, 151; MRR 3 139-140.

6. * Sex. Nominus Sutenus (53)

Plutarch (*Sulla* 10.2-4) mentions a Nominus, nephew of Sulla, who stood for some office *under* in 88, when Sulla was consul, as a candidate he preferred, but was rejected by the people because of the unpopularity of Sulla's actions. If, as seems probable, Nominus may be identified with Sextus Nominus Sutenus, known from the inscription on coins struck by M. Nominus Sutenus ca. 60 B.C. as the praetor in 81 who was the first to celebrate the *ludi Victoriae Sullanae* (MRR 2 76, 447, 3 149; Crawford, *RR* 1 no. 441, dated to 59, cf. *Vell.* 2 27-6), he was at that time probably competing for one of the lower offices. Deumann-Groebke (*RCG* II 559) suggests the tribunate of the plebs, but an aedileship or even a praetorship is not impossible. If Nominus was not Sex. Nominus Sutenus, there is no other information about him. See above, Chapter II, Part 1, No. 33a, on P. Servilius Vatia (Isauricus).

7. A. Nunnus (1)

A candidate for a tribunate of 99, Nunnus was, according to Appian (*BC* 1.28), a rival of Saturninus for the tenth place of the required ten. He was attacked and killed, according to Appian, when he had already been elected and was a tribune designate, but, according to Plutarch (*Mar.* 29.1),

Valerius Maximus (9.7.3), and Otosius (5.17.5), it was before he could be elected. See E. Gabba, *Appian Bell. Civ. prom.*, pp. 101-102.

8. *P. Rutilius Rutilus* (34) Cos. 105

Rutilius Rutilus is named as a candidate for the tribunate of the plebs in Cicero's list of defeated tribunitial candidates who later attained the consulship (*Plin.* 52). As Rutilius held a praetorship by 118, his candidacy for the tribunate should be dated before 120 (*MRR* 1.527, 555).

VII. CANDIDATES FOR THE OUAESTORSHIP

L. J. M. FORTMEYER (11) Pr. 49

In a letter written early in June of 60, Cicero comments on the defeat of Favonius by Nasica (C. Aurelius Metellus Nepos Nasica), and his unsuccessful prosecution of the victor, whom Cicero had defended, presumably on a charge *de ambitu*.¹ Since the date is too early in the year for any regular election, this election must have been intended to fill a vacancy, but there is disagreement as to whether the vacant place was that of an aedile, or a tribune of the plebs, or a quaestor. See S&L, I (3-4) 350-351, cf. MRR 341-42, a summary of opinions with some preference for a quaestorship.² According to Cicero, Favonius was standing for office again *in publicis causis*, but there is no report of the results.

2. *Ch. latidens* (Günther) (Cat. 102)

13P

4. The defendant's wife, [Name], lives with the defendant.

E. Badian's suggestion that the correct reading in Cicero, *Pro Plancio* 52, is not Q. (or C.) Caelius, but Q. Catulus (*Studies* 152-153) has been firmly accepted by Shackleton Bailey (*CSPC* 83 [1979] 277-278). The passage (*quarstor* Q. Catulus) records a defeat for a quaestorship, and may refer either to the consul of 102 or the consul of 78, perhaps preferably the former as more consistent with the dates in Cicero's other examples, and with a person well known for his series of defeats for the consulship. See above, Chapter II, Part I, No. 23.

[illegible]

¹ Note that *Eumecurus* is regarded as a subgenus of *Thomomys* by Thompson (1948: 348) and Chambliss (1964: 1990) [25], and that he was an sedile in 33 or 32, and a gracilis in 40, 34, 35, 2, 23, and 27. Thompson has also a *Thomomys* (33, 41) (1977: 215-216).

VIII. CANDIDATE FOR THE MILITARY TRIBUNATE

1. L. *Marcus Philippus* (75) Cos. 91. Pr. by 96

The L. Philippus whose defeat in an election for the office of *tribunus militum* Cicero mentions in *De Plancio* 52 should be identified with L. *Marcus Philippus* (75) consul in 91 (Shackleton Bailey, *Oratorum* no. 67). The date may be ca. 106 B.C. See above, Chapter II, Part I, No. 27, on this Marcus Philippus.

IX. CANDIDATES FOR THE PRIESTLY COLLEGES AND FOR PONTIFEX MAXIMUS

From early times the members of the major priestly colleges coopted in each college new members individually as an appointment for life to the places vacated by deceased members. But in 104 or 103 *ca.* Quintus Ahenobarbus (21), in anger at not being coopted by the college of pontifices to the place vacated by the death of his father, carried a law while tribune of the plebs making membership in the major colleges subject to popular election by an assembly of seventeen tribes chosen by lot, one less than majority of the total of thirty-five tribes.¹ This law remained in force until 82 or 81, when Sulla restored the former practice, but in 63 a law carried by L. Labienus, when tribune of the plebs, made popular election by seventeen tribes a requirement again.² The former requirements of a formal recommendation by two members of the college and acceptance by a vote of the college also remained in use. Elections to the priestly colleges were regularly held in the interval between those for consuls and those of praetors, with a consul as presiding officer. From early times the pontifex maximus was elected by the assembly of seventeen tribes.³ The candidate had to be a pontifex in office, with the most recently elected pontifex as the presiding officer.

1. *M. Antonius* (30) Cos. 44, 34

A phrase in a letter of M. Antonius to Cicero shortly before the latter left Italy to join Pompey (*Att.* 10.8a 1, May 1, 49, cf. *SB.* C7 S 4 410-411) which refers to some coolness or jealousy (*ζηλοειτία*) between them has been taken as a reference to supposed jealousy on the part of Antonius when

¹ See *MRR* 1.399, 399, 392, 392a-c, cf. 392, 393, and also 390, 391, 392 on M. Aemilius Scaurus (140).

² See *MRR* 2.77, 77a-b, 78a, and 167, 168 on Labienus.

³ See E. R. Taylor, 'The Election of the Pontifex Maximus in the Late Republic', *J. Ph.* 32 (1902) 423-426, on the presiding officer, see *Lex.* 25.5.2, *Monum.* *MRR* II² 37, note 5. On the process of election, see E. R. Taylor, *JPh.* 32 (1902) 383-387, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395.

Cicero was elected an augur, by 52 or, probably, in 53.² Whatever the reference may mean, Antonius did not compete at the time when Cicero was elected (*Cic. Phil.* 2.4), but did so successfully in 50. See below, No. 2, on L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (27).

2. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (27) Cos. 54

A candidate for an augurate in 50 for the plebeian place made vacant by the death of Hortensius in June of that year (Caelius in *Cic. Fam.* 8.13.2, cf. SB, C11 1.426), Domitius was defeated by the young M. Antonius, then a tribune designate, who had in his favor the support of Caesar and the memory of his grandfather, the famous orator, M. Antonius (28), Cos. 99.³

3. L. Cornelius Lentulus Cras (218) Cos. 49

A candidate in 51 for a place in the *Quindrigentarii sacris membris*, Lentulus Cras was defeated by the young P. Cornelius Dolabella (141), the future consul suffectus of 44 (Caelius in *Cic. Fam.* 8.4.1, *caruisse te pulcherrime spectando et Lentuli Cras repulse cultum non valuisse*, cf. SB, C11 1.390).

4. Q. Fulvius Flaccus (59) Cos. 237, 224, 209

A candidate in 212 for election as pontifex maximus in succession to the deceased L. Cornelius Lentulus Capidinus (211), Cos. 237, Fulvius Flaccus was surprisingly defeated by the much younger P. Licinius Crassus (69), then a candidate

² See *MRR* 2.211, 3.209; Shackleton Bailey, *Scripta Manu Scipionum Philippi* (Oxford, 1902) 217, 226, esp. p. 219, reads as headings in Cicero's letters to C. Cassius Longinus, esp. 4, in that case probably returned from Asia to Rome by way of Cilicia, as Cicero was elected an augur before Caelius returned (2.2.4). He was very probably elected in 50 (see in favor of election in 52, L. Fardouloux, 1951, 76-187, 215-27). See below, No. 1, on his competitor, L. Lucius Hortensius (27).

³ Caelius in *Cic. Fam.* 8.14.1, *caruisse te pulcherrime spectando et Lentuli Cras repulse cultum non valuisse*, cf. SB, C11 1.426, 430; *Herrmann* in *Index*, 82-8, 803, 3, 37, 1902 2.4, 78-84, *Schölten*, *Born* in *Index* 2.23, p. 871, *MRR* 2.283, 85. In the *Index* in *Cic. Fam.* 8.14.1, a 100 per centus vote (except for SB addition *Capituli* 100-2) of 212, 224, 226, 237, 1.426, 430 would supply the sound vote which defeated the would-be pontifex. The change means that Domitius, instead of trying to win the two major priestly elections, as his grandfather had failed earlier to win a place as pontifex, and was now doubly disappointed of failing, partly through Cicero's aid to Antonius, to become an augur. He became a pontifex only soon as he was one at his death in 46, the place to which C. Calpurnius, the future Augustus, succeeded, probably in the autumn of 47 (*MRR* 2.284, 282, 1.83, 84).

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for the curule aedileship (Liv. 25.5.1-4, *MRR* 1.271).¹⁶ See below, No. 7, on his rival, T. Manlius Torquatus (82).

5. C. Lucilius Hirrus (25) *Tr.* pl. 53

Lucilius Hirrus was a candidate in 52 or, more probably, in 53 for a plebeian place in the college of augurs as successor to P. Lucius Crassus (83), who had perished in the campaign against the Parthians at Carrhae, and was defeated by Cicero (Cicero in Cic. *Inv.* 8.3.1, *auguratus hunc competitorem*, 8.9.1, 2.15.1, et. 88, *CLL* 1.388.394; *MRR* 2.228-9). On the date, see above, note 4.

6. Q. Lutatius Catulus (20) *Cos.* 78

Catulus was a candidate in 63 for election as pontifex maximus in succession to the recently deceased Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (98), and was defeated by C. Julius Caesar (131), the future dictator, who in 63 was a successful candidate for a praetorship (*Sall. Cat.* 49.1-2, et. *Suet. Caes.* 13, *Plut. Caes.* 7.1-2, see *MRR* 2.172, notes 1 and 2).

7. T. Manlius Torquatus (82) *Cos.* 235, 224, *Cons.* 223

Manlius was a candidate in 212 for election as pontifex maximus in succession to L. Cornelius Lentulus Claudinus (213), and, like Q. Fulvius Placcus (see above, No. 4), was surprisingly defeated by the young P. Lucius Crassus (69), then a candidate for a curule aedileship (Liv. 25.5.1-4). See *MRR* 1.271.

8. P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus (93) *Cos.* 79

A candidate in 63 for election as pontifex maximus in succession to the deceased Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (98), the elder Servilius Isauricus was defeated, along with Q. Lutatius Catulus (8, see above, No. 6), by C. Julius Caesar (131), the future dictator, who was elected in that year to a praetorship for 62 (*Plut. Caes.* 7.1-3, et. *Sall. Cat.* 49.1, *Suet. Caes.* 13). See *MRR* 2.171, 172, notes 1 and 3.

9. P. Vatinius (3) *Cos.* 47

¹⁶ In 121 years this honor had never gone to a candidate who had not held curule office (Liv. 25.5.4). See *MRR* 1.271.

APPENDIX

In addition to the two groups described above under the names of the magistracies, those who were defeated in regular elections, and those who withdrew or were prevented from competing, there are a few examples of candidates who were successful in the elections but were afterward prevented from taking office because they were accused and convicted of election bribery (*ambitus*). The consular elections for 186 provide two outstanding examples: P. Cornelius Sulla (186) and P. Autronius Paeus, (17), who won the election (Sulla *consul electus*, Cic. Sulla 41), and defeated L. Aurelius Cotta (102) and L. Manlius Torquatus (79). They were accused of *ambitus* and convicted. Sulla by the younger Manlius, son of the candidate, and Autronius by Cotta himself, and under the terms of the law carried by C. Calpurnius Piso in 187 lost both office and the right to compete later. See above, Chapter II, Part I, Nos. 6, on Cotta, and No. 24, on Manlius. There were many such trials in the Late Republic, but apparently few convictions.

The misspelled name Hortensio at 108 B.C., in the Chronographer at 354 and the letters MN. da[MN]atus) at the same date in a fragment of the *Fastus Capitolini* with the cognomen Scavrus on the next line, confirmed by the name M. AURELIUS A in the *Fastus Antiochensis Minor* at 108, combine to indicate another case of success, trial and conviction, this time of a Hortensius (A. Degross, *Index Ital. M.H. Fasc. I*, pp. 54, 55, 162, 163, 476).

At the tribunical level, the case of Servaeus (3) presents another example. He was successful in 51 in the elections for tribunes of 50, but accusation of *ambitus* and conviction while he was still *designatus* made his place available for C. Scribonius Curio (11) to win in the supplementary election (Cic. *Dom.* 8.4.2: *Scribonius designation tribuni pr. condemnationem, curio in locum C. Curio petit* [August 1, 51]; 8.5.3: *hos se e. praetere anno, Curio tribuns e. n. t.* [mid-September 51]). See SB, CLE 1.390 and 397.

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INDEX OF DEFEATED CANDIDATES

The names of the candidates are listed below in groups arranged as in the text, according to the magistracies to which they were assigned from the elected groups to, and within each group alphabetically by the names of the candidates. A few Aemilianic historical candidates were identified by the names of the tribes to which they are listed in their respective groups in Pliny's *Natural History* (see page 10). Because of the discovery of individual candidates from a group to which they are known from the context of their debated rights, without reference to the separate *summae nominis* of any of them, and the names of the tribes in each of these

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| Cl. 1. <i>fulvipes</i> (1942) | 42 |
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2. Candidates Who Withdrew or Remain Unavailable

[illegible]

CANDIDATES FOR THE TRIBUNATE OF THE PHDS

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| C. 2. Vaccines (15/16) | |
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| C. 2.2. Bacterial vaccines (16) | 45 |
| C. 3. Vaccines (16/17) | 45-46 |
| C. 4. Anticancer drugs (14) | 46 |
| C. 5. Anticancer drugs (15/16) | 46 |
| C. 6. Anticancer drugs (16/17) | 46-47 |
| C. 7. Anticancer drugs (17) | 47 |
| C. 8. Anticancer drugs (18) | 47 |
| C. 9. Anticancer drugs (19) | 47 |
| C. 10. Anticancer drugs (20) | 47 |
| C. 11. Anticancer drugs (21) | 47 |
| C. 12. Anticancer drugs (22) | 47 |
| C. 13. Anticancer drugs (23) | 47 |
| C. 14. Anticancer drugs (24) | 47 |
| C. 15. Anticancer drugs (25) | 47 |
| C. 16. Anticancer drugs (26) | 47 |
| C. 17. Anticancer drugs (27) | 47 |
| C. 18. Anticancer drugs (28) | 47 |
| C. 19. Anticancer drugs (29) | 47 |
| C. 20. Anticancer drugs (30) | 47 |
| C. 21. Anticancer drugs (31) | 47 |
| C. 22. Anticancer drugs (32) | 47 |
| C. 23. Anticancer drugs (33) | 47 |
| C. 24. Anticancer drugs (34) | 47 |
| C. 25. Anticancer drugs (35) | 47 |
| C. 26. Anticancer drugs (36) | 47 |
| C. 27. Anticancer drugs (37) | 47 |
| C. 28. Anticancer drugs (38) | 47 |
| C. 29. Anticancer drugs (39) | 47 |
| C. 30. Anticancer drugs (40) | 47 |
| C. 31. Anticancer drugs (41) | 47 |
| C. 32. Anticancer drugs (42) | 47 |
| C. 33. Anticancer drugs (43) | 47 |
| C. 34. Anticancer drugs (44) | 47 |
| C. 35. Anticancer drugs (45) | 47 |
| C. 36. Anticancer drugs (46) | 47 |
| C. 37. Anticancer drugs (47) | 47 |
| C. 38. Anticancer drugs (48) | 47 |
| C. 39. Anticancer drugs (49) | 47 |
| C. 40. Anticancer drugs (50) | 47 |
| C. 41. Anticancer drugs (51) | 47 |
| C. 42. Anticancer drugs (52) | 47 |
| C. 43. Anticancer drugs (53) | 47 |
| C. 44. Anticancer drugs (54) | 47 |
| C. 45. Anticancer drugs (55) | 47 |
| C. 46. Anticancer drugs (56) | 47 |
| C. 47. Anticancer drugs (57) | 47 |
| C. 48. Anticancer drugs (58) | 47 |
| C. 49. Anticancer drugs (59) | 47 |
| C. 50. Anticancer drugs (60) | 47 |
| C. 51. Anticancer drugs (61) | 47 |
| C. 52. Anticancer drugs (62) | 47 |
| C. 53. Anticancer drugs (63) | 47 |
| C. 54. Anticancer drugs (64) | 47 |
| C. 55. Anticancer drugs (65) | 47 |
| C. 56. Anticancer drugs (66) | 47 |
| C. 57. Anticancer drugs (67) | 47 |
| C. 58. Anticancer drugs (68) | 47 |
| C. 59. Anticancer drugs (69) | 47 |
| C. 60. Anticancer drugs (70) | 47 |
| C. 61. Anticancer drugs (71) | 47 |
| C. 62. Anticancer drugs (72) | 47 |
| C. 63. Anticancer drugs (73) | 47 |
| C. 64. Anticancer drugs (74) | 47 |
| C. 65. Anticancer drugs (75) | 47 |
| C. 66. Anticancer drugs (76) | 47 |
| C. 67. Anticancer drugs (77) | 47 |
| C. 68. Anticancer drugs (78) | 47 |
| C. 69. Anticancer drugs (79) | 47 |
| C. 70. Anticancer drugs (80) | 47 |
| C. 71. Anticancer drugs (81) | 47 |
| C. 72. Anticancer drugs (82) | 47 |
| C. 73. Anticancer drugs (83) | 47 |
| C. 74. Anticancer drugs (84) | 47 |
| C. 75. Anticancer drugs (85) | 47 |
| C. 76. Anticancer drugs (86) | 47 |
| C. 77. Anticancer drugs (87) | 47 |
| C. 78. Anticancer drugs (88) | 47 |
| C. 79. Anticancer drugs (89) | 47 |
| C. 80. Anticancer drugs (90) | 47 |
| C. 81. Anticancer drugs (91) | 47 |
| C. 82. Anticancer drugs (92) | 47 |
| C. 83. Anticancer drugs (93) | 47 |
| C. 84. Anticancer drugs (94) | 47 |
| C. 85. Anticancer drugs (95) | 47 |
| C. 86. Anticancer drugs (96) | 47 |
| C. 87. Anticancer drugs (97) | 47 |
| C. 88. Anticancer drugs (98) | 47 |
| C. 89. Anticancer drugs (99) | 47 |
| C. 90. Anticancer drugs (100) | 47 |
| C. 91. Anticancer drugs (101) | 47 |
| C. 92. Anticancer drugs (102) | 47 |
| C. 93. Anticancer drugs (103) | 47 |
| C. 94. Anticancer drugs (104) | 47 |
| C. 95. Anticancer drugs (105) | 47 |
| C. 96. Anticancer drugs (106) | 47 |
| C. 97. Anticancer drugs (107) | 47 |
| C. 98. Anticancer drugs (108) | 47 |
| C. 99. Anticancer drugs (109) | 47 |
| C. 100. Anticancer drugs (110) | 47 |
| C. 101. Anticancer drugs (111) | 47 |
| C. 102. Anticancer drugs (112) | 47 |
| C. 103. Anticancer drugs (113) | 47 |
| C. 104. Anticancer drugs (114) | 47 |
| C. 105. Anticancer drugs (115) | 47 |
| C. 106. Anticancer drugs (116) | 47 |
| C. 107. Anticancer drugs (117) | 47 |
| C. 108. Anticancer drugs (118) | 47 |
| C. 109. Anticancer drugs (119) | 47 |
| C. 110. Anticancer drugs (120) | 47 |
| C. 111. Anticancer drugs (121) | 47 |
| C. 112. Anticancer drugs (122) | 47 |
| C. 113. Anticancer drugs (123) | 47 |
| C. 114. Anticancer drugs (124) | 47 |
| C. 115. Anticancer drugs (125) | 47 |
| C. 116. Anticancer drugs (126) | 47 |
| C. 117. Anticancer drugs (127) | 47 |
| C. 118. Anticancer drugs (128) | 47 |
| C. 119. Anticancer drugs (129) | 47 |
| C. 120. Anticancer drugs (130) | 47 |

CANDIDATES FOR THE OLIAESTORSHIPS

| | | |
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| 3.41 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.42 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.43 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.44 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.45 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.46 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.47 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.48 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.49 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.50 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.51 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.52 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.53 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.54 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.55 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.56 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.57 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.58 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.59 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.60 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.61 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.62 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.63 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.64 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.65 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.66 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.67 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.68 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.69 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.70 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.71 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.72 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.73 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.74 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.75 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.76 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.77 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.78 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.79 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.80 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.81 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.82 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.83 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.84 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.85 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.86 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.87 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.88 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.89 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.90 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.91 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.92 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.93 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.94 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.95 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.96 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.97 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.98 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.99 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |
| 3.100 | Exercises 1-10 | 10 |

CANDIDATE FOR THE MILITARY TRIBUNATE

1. *Statisticae Philosophicae* (1970) 19

64 CANDIDATES DEFEATED IN ROMAN ELECTIONS

CANDIDATES FOR THE PRIESTLY COLLEGES

| | |
|------------------------------|-------|
| * M. Antonius (39) | 50-53 |
| P. Domitius Ahenobarbus (27) | 51 |
| P. Cornelius Lentulus (186) | 51 |
| Q. Titinius (186) | 52 |
| P. Vatinius (5) | 52-53 |

CANDIDATES FOR PONTIFEX MAXIMUS

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| Q. Fabius Maximus (79) | 51 |
| Q. Fabius Cunctator (86) | 52 |
| P. Mucius Scaevola (182) | 52 |
| P. Servilius Ahala (186) | 52 |

APPENDIX: CANDIDATES ELECTED BUT CONVICTED FOR ADULTRIES

1. Candidates for the Consulship:

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| P. Antonius (17) | 54 |
| P. Cornelius Sulla (86) | 54 |
| * Clodius (100) | 54 |

2. Candidate for the Tribune of the Plebs:

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| * Clodius (100) | 54 |
|-----------------|----|



1944-1945

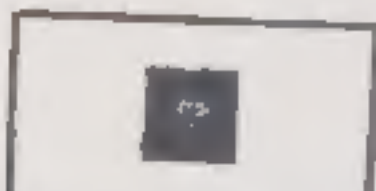


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